

Message Text

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 01984 211523Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O R 211440Z MAR 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1564

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 1984

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG PARM

SUBJECT: CSCE POLICY: THE VOLUNTARY NATURE OF MANEUVERS CBM

REF: GENEVA 1897; DAVISON-MARESCA TELECON OF MARCH 20

1. THIS MESSAGE GIVES MORE DETAIL ON LIKELY ALLIED RE-ACTION TO THE TWO OPTIONS FOR A US APPROACH SET OUT REFTEL AND THE TWO ADDITIONAL OPTIONS MENTIONED IN THE REF TELECON.

2. OPTION A: GENERALLY POSITIVE RESPONSE TO SOVIETS AND AN ACTIVE US ROLE IN PREPARING A FORTHCOMING ALLIED COUNTERMOVE. THIS APPROACH MIGHT AROUSE SOME BRITISH RESENTMENT SINCE THE UK HAS TRADITIONALLY TAKEN LEAD ON THIS ISSUE FOR THE NATO GROUP IN CSCE. THERE WOULD ALSO BE SOME GRUMBLING FROM DUTCH, CANADIANS, AND OTHER SMALLER ALLIES, AND AN ACTIVIST US APPROACH COULD LEND CREDENCE TO RUMORS, RIFE HERE SINCE AGREEMENT ON THE PEACEFUL CHANGE SENTENCE, OF A BILATERAL US-SOVIET DEAL. ALLIES IN GENEVA WOULD BE RELUCANT TO ABANDON LONG-HELD AND STOUTLY DEFENDED POSITIONS, AND TO LEAVE NEUTRAL FRIENDS HIGH AND DRY WITHOUT AT LEAST A SUITABLE GRACE PERIOD. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT IF DEPARTMENT OPTS FOR MORE ACTIVE ROLE, ALLIED RESENTMENT COULD BE HELD TO MANAGEABLE PROPORTIONS WITH CAREFUL TACTICAL

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HANDLING HERE.

3. OPTION B: MORE RESERVED ATTITUDE TO THE SOVIET GAMBIT AND LOW PROFILE WITHIN NATO CAUCUS, LEAVING IT TO UK AND OTHERS TO TAKE LEAD. THIS WOULD CONFORM WITH MAJORITY ATTITUDE AMONG NATO DELEGATIONS AND THUS SHOULD POSE NO PROBLEM WITH ALLIES.

4. OPTION C: HANG TOUGH ON COMMITMENT LANGUAGE. WE SENSE THAT THE MAJOR ALLIED CAPITALS ARE NOW READY TO MOVE AHEAD MORE RAPIDLY TO WIND UP CSCE. THEY WOULD READ A "HANG TOUGH" US APPROACH ON CBMS AS INDICATIVE OF A POSSIBLE US DESIRE TO SPIN OUT TALKS HERE. MOST ALLIES ARE GENERALLY READY TO ACCEPT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL IN DUE COURSE, AND ON CERTAIN CONDITIONS, AND WE WOULD SOON BE LARGELY ISOLATED HERE IF WE SEEMED TO OPPOSE IT.

5. OPTION D: DISCREETLY ENCOURAGE ALLIES TO "HANG TOUGH" WITHOUT TAKING AN EXPOSED POSITION IN CSCE DISCUSSIONS. THIS WOULD HAVE SOME OF THE SAME DISADVANTAGES WE CAN SEE IN OPTION C ABOVE, PLUS THE ADDITIONAL DISADVANTAGES THAT ALLIES WOULD NOT UNDERSTAND IT IF WE TALKED A GOOD FIGHT IN CAUCUS DISCUSSIONS BUT KEPT QUIET IN THE CSCE SUBCOMMITTEE. IN ANY EVENT, OUR POSTURE WOULD SWIFTLY LEAK TO THE SOVIETS, AND WE BELIEVE THIS OPTION WOULD GIVE US THE WORST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS.

6. ASIDE FROM QUESTION OF WHETHER US TAKES LEAD OR LOW PROFILE, INSTRUCTIONS SHOULD ADDRESS QUESTION OF WHAT, IF ANYTHING, WE SHOULD ASK IN RETURN FOR EVENTUAL US ACCEPTANCE OF VOLUNTARY LANGUAGE. SOVIETS HAVE OFFERED NOTIFICATION OF NATIONAL MANEUVERS TO ALL AS A SWEETNER, BUT HAVE REFUSED TO LET ANYONE LOOK INTO THE CLOSED BAG THEY SAY CONTAINS OTHER CONCESSIONS ON PARAMETERS. WE COULD EITHER QUESTION THIS PROPOSITION AND ASK FOR TANGIBLE EVIDENCE THAT THE BAG IS NOT EMPTY BEFORE ACCEPTING VOLUNTARINESS, OR WE COULD TAKE THE SOVIET ASSURANCES AT THEIR FACE VALUE. WE WOULD PREFER FIRST ALTERNATIVE, BUT BELIEVE, IF DEPT ACCEPTS THAT
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APPROACH, THAT DELEGATION SHOULD BE ALLOWED SOME TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY IN LIGHT OF SOVIET AND ALLIED ATTITUDES AS THEY EMERGE. DALE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, CBMS, ALLIANCE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 MAR 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975GENEVA01984
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750099-0840
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750328/aaaaazha.tel
Line Count: 110
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 75 GENEVA 1897, 75 DAVISON-MARESCA, 75 TELECON OF MARCH 20
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16 JUN 2003 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <17 JUN 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE POLICY: THE VOLUNTARY NATURE OF MANEUVERS CBM
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, XG, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006